

REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
OCCURRENCES
OF THE
LAST YEAR.

From 5 Nov. 1688. to 5 Nov. 1689.

WHEREIN,

The *Happy* Progress of the late *Revolution*,
and *Unhappy* Progress of *Affairs since*, are Considered ;
The Original of the latter discovered, and the proper
Means for Remedy, Proposed and Recommended.

PROV. XXVII. 5, 6.

*Open Rebuke is better than secret Love : Faithful are the Wounds
of a Friend ; but the Kisses of an Enemy are deceitful.*

London, Printed in the Year, 1689.

RECEIVED OF THE OCCURRENCES

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Original of
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London, England

Advertisement.

THese Papers, though in Print, were not Printed for vulgar View; but for the use of such as are principally concerned in them; and therefore in number proportionable to that intention. They contain a search into a dangerous Sore, which cannot faithfully be performed without some smart to the Patient. And in such case, they who are wise will not rage and storm at the Hand which toucheth them, but consider that it is but what is necessary to prevent greater Mischief in time. Perhaps the Operation might have been performed more tenderly by others, but more faithfully it could not have been done by any. If any blame it as a Work of too much Officiousness, for one thus to obtrude himself before he be sent for; it must be remembred, that he had some concern in, as well as for the Safety of the Patient: And were it not so, yet the good Samaritan for his good Office in supplying the neglect of the Priest and the Levite, was not censured, but approved by the Great Physician, our Lord and Saviour. If after all, any one will be troublesome, he is hereby admonished to be wise, and consider first, how he will clear himself before the supream Judge, who will certainly take Cognizance of the Cause, and give Righteous Judgment upon each. For, for his Service it was done, and to him the Success is intirely committed.

ERRATA.

The Reader is desired to strike out,

IN some Copies, page 1, line 4. from two notable, &c. to Deliverances were, l. 8. and instead thereof, to insert after the word November, l. 12. And in this, that they were Deliverances from Conspiracies, of the same inveterate Enemies, though at so great a distance of time, and of quite different Form and Contrivance; the first secret, under-ground, and in the dark; the other, bare-fac'd, above-board, and visible to the VWorld. And so read, p. 9. l. 31. had not then, p. 11. l. 33. among them, p. 17. l. 26. Predecessors of the last race; in p. 18. l. 24. Nati. p. 21. l. 21. by any, p. 32. l. 2. systematical. Other more literal Faults being left to his own Observation.

REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
OCCURRENCES
OF THE
LAST YEAR.

WE are now by the course of Time and Providence of God, brought to an *United, Solemn Anniversary Commemoration of two great Deliverances* of this Nation, from two notable Conspiracies of our inveterate Enemies; the one secret, and under ground in the dark; the other bare-faced, above-board, and visible to the World: And the Deliverances were, one of our Ancestors, but in them of our selves, about one Age, that is, 84 years since; the other of our own selves, commencing in the Princes Arrival, but one year since: But both concurring in the same happy and memorable Day of the *Fifth of November*. Almighty God of his Infinite Goodness and Wisdom, was pleased, not only to *renew* his Mercies to us; to do it *when*, considering the corrupt and vicious State of the Nation, we had great reason, rather to fear some severe Judgment; to do it in such a *Manner*, as might make his Divine Power and Efficacy in it the more apparent; but to do it with such *Circumstances of Time*, as might mind

us also of his former Mercies, of his long continued Favour, and the constancy of his Providence over us, the more to endear his Goodness to us, and to oblige us the more effectually to himself. The Year, that of *Eighty Eight*, to mind us of the famous *Eighty Eight*, one Hundred Years before, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when the Wind and the Sea, by his Divine Direction, fought for us against a supposed Invincible *Armado*. And the Day of the PRINCE's Landing determined, by the remarkable Motion of the Wind, under the same Divine Direction, to the very day of the Fifth of *November*, to mind us of the Deliverance in the Reign of King *James the First*, upon the same day, from one of the most Barbarous and Hellish Conspiracies that the World hath known. And, certainly they must be very dull and stupid Souls, who by such *Admonitions* as these, are not provoked to Consider with Admiration and raised Affections, the observable Course of the Divine Providence, in preserving this Nation from such various and continual Machinations of the Antichristian Faction; not only during the long Reign of four and forty Years of that Queen, but for this full 130 Years; from her Accession to the Crown, unto this late Revolution.

As these Circumstances of the Time invite us to look backward upon the former course of Divine Providence, in the Occurrences of this Nation, so there is another Circumstance in our late Deliverance, which doth not less excite our Consideration, and oblige us to look forward upon what hath since occurred in the space of this one Year last past: And that is the eminent and wonderful Manner of the Revolution.

The Deliverance itself was so full fraught, with Mercies and Favours from Heaven, that every Circumstance had some special obliging Favour in it; and this of the manner, more than one. It was no small favour, that it was effected with so much Ease to us, and with the
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Effusion of so little Blood, especially considering the general Corruption of the manners of all sorts of People among us, which not only deserved, but seemed to need and require a Purgation : But the Merciful God, it seems, was pleased, first to try whether there was so much Ingenuity left among us, as to be wrought upon by his more gentle method of so surprising a Mercy and eminent Deliverance, which if it be not, will certainly aggravate the sin of the Nation, and in all probability, increase and hasten some remarkable Judgment upon it.

But that which I principally intend here, is, that it was carried on *with a high Hand*, like that of the Children of *Israel*, in so powerful and eminent a manner, a certain Dread and Terror going before, as makes the Providence of God visible, his Power known, and gives a great Indication of his special Presence (by his Invisible Ministers) in it. This is such a special Favour, and produceth such special Obligations upon us, as must needs highly aggravate the Crime of any unsuitable Return, as not only Notorious Ingratitude for an extraordinary Benefit, but a kind of contempt, or slighting of so great a Benefactor to his Face. *Behold, I send my Angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared,* Saith God to *Moses*, and then subjoyns this Caution : *Beware of him, and obey his Voice, provoke him not : for he will not pardon your Transgressions ; for my Name is in him,* *Exod. 23. 20, 21.* This was our Case : And as such an Obligation requires a special Prospect, Care and Caution for the future, to avoid all Offence against it ; so the powerful and successful Progress of that Deliverance, must needs make the Departure of those Powers, or but Suspension of so eminent a Favour, soon felt, and easie to be perceived, and thereby give a plain Admonition of some Offence committed. And whether this be not our Case, is a matter of great Importance, and requiring our most serious and deepest Consideration.

The Deliverance in the Manner and Progress of it, was so surprizing and amazing, as the like is hardly to be met with in any History, since that of the *Israelites*; and yet it will not be easie to determine, which is most to be admired, the smooth, uninterrupted, prosperous and successful Progress of it, or the unaccountable *Stop*, which seems to have been put to that success; and the strange, slow, impeditied, and unprosperous *Course of our Affairs since*: How all things did visibly concur to promote that, but the course of our *Affairs since* hath been retarded we know not how! Only this we plainly see, all is at a stand, or moves slowly, like *Pharaoh's Chariots*, when their Wheels were off; or as I have heard of a Cart bewitched, which before was drawn easily loaded, by four or five Horses, but of a sudden, became almost unmoveable, in plain Ground, and half unloaded, by a much greater strength: So have all things gon with us, as if they were Enchanted, for the greatest part of this year. And so sudden and great an *Alteration*, doth of it self deserve and provoke our Consideration; but the dangerous Consequences thereof, which have already occurred, or are within view, much more.

The late wonderful *Revolution* which is looked upon as our Deliverance, was *Completed*, if we compute from the Arrival of the Prince, to the *Exit* of King *James*, within the space of forty three days; and if we extend it to the day when the Prince was Proclaimed King, it amounts but to one hundred days: But upon *Christmas* day He was Addressed to by the Lords, and two days after, by the Members of the former Parliaments, and the Aldermen and Common Council of the City, to take upon him the *Administration of Publick Affairs*, both *Civil* and *Military*, and the Disposal of the *Publick Revenue*, and to take into his particular care, the then present *Condition of Ireland*. All which, the day following, He accepted and undertook.

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Among those four things recommended in general to the Prince, and undertaken by him, were some things comprehended, which could not then be compleatly done by him; as the Constitution of Civil Officers, and of Lord Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, and other Officers in the *Militia*. All that could then be done by him in these matters, was only to consider, and resolve upon fit Persons for these Employments, to be Authorized as soon as might be. But this was a matter of some Consequence to be settled as soon as might be, as in other respects, so more particularly, that the more Forces might have been the sooner spared for *Ireland*. For considering the Disposition of the People, the ordinary *Militia* being in good hands, would have been sufficient for the Security of this Nation. But, whatever was the matter, neither were the Civil Magistrates in the several Counties, that is, the *Justices of Peace*, nor the *Militia*, settled in many Months after.

And for *Ireland*, the *Consequence* of the speedy securing or reducing of that Nation, was very great; not only for the Security, Ease, and Benefit of this, but moreover and especially, in order to the *common Design of the Confederates*, that we might have been in a condition to have Attacked the common Enemy on the one side, as they did on the other; which we being animated by Success, and our Enemies under no ordinary Consternation, might have brought the common Design to perfection; and which is of higher Consideration, have produced what the Providence of God had put an Opportunity into our Hands to do, directed us to, and was ready to have conducted us to perform. And how dismal may be the Consequence of this failure, if it proceeded from any neglect in us, as God alone compleatly knows, so I am unwilling to declare what I suspect, nor perhaps is it fit for me to do it. But thus much of the *Matter of Fact* in this case, is certain and commonly known,

known, that the Arms and Ammunition which were sent, whenever that was, but to that one poor Town of *London-Derry*, which shut up their Gates the ninth of *December*, declared for the Prince of *Aurange*, and the Protestant Religion, and immediately sent hither for speedy Relief. Arrived not there till the twentieth of *March*, nor the Forces sent with *Cunningham* and *Richards* till the fifteenth of *April*; and then instead of Relief, by deserting the Service, proved only a Discouragement to them. And though some others came near the seventh of *June*, yet were not those poor Creatures actually relieved till the thirtieth of *July*; when from seven Thousand five hundred brave Regimented Men, they were reduced to about four Thousand three Hundred; though nothing appears, why that might not have been done full as well, six Weeks before.

Proportionable to this, for the Relief of that Town, was the Progress of our Affairs for the *Reducing of that Kingdom*. That which might with ease have been done at first, grew daily more and more difficult; the Difficulties increasing faster than our Preparations; insomuch, that *March 8*. King *William* speaking to the Lords and Commons, concerning the deplorable Condition of *Ireland*, declared, That he thought it not advisable to attempt the reducing of it with less than Twenty Thousand Horse and Foot: Difficulties should, and usually do excite generous Spirits to the more vigorous Action: And this, no doubt, was the Intention of this King in that Speech: Notwithstanding long it was ere we could be ready to transport our Forces; and when all things were expected to be ready for that purpose, how they answered the General's expectations, must be left to his own Observation, and the more particular Examination of them, who are not only concern'd, but are in Place and Authority to do it; it being commonly believed, they were not so well as ought to have been. And when they were at
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last Transported, which was not till about the middle of *August*, it seems they were not such as the General thought fit to engage with the Enemy, though so lately baffled before *London-Derry*; especially their Carriages not coming to him before the 24th of *September*; nor have they to this day, done any considerable Service.

And whereas it is likely, the wary old General might decline any Engagement, in dayly Expectation of the *Danish Supplies* to have been with him long since, yet so unhappily hath that also fallen out, that the Expectation of them, hath proved only a Disappointment to us, and perhaps a greater Disappointment than ever their Service may repair. Besides, the Season of the year is now so far gon, that they are more like to prove a burden this Winter, than any advantage to us. And what may now become not only of *Ireland*, but of the Forces we have already sent thither, is very doubtful; so that we have in a manner, already lost all the Expence of this Summer, and are in danger to lose a great part of our Forces also.

And now, if from Land we descend to take a Prospect of the Progress of *our Affairs at Sea*, we shall still find all alike: The two famous Nations for Action at Sea, not only baffled by the sole Power of *France*, but our losses in Men by *Sickness* and *Mortalities* greater than by *Fight*, and in our Merchandise and Trade, not less than our Expences: And, as if the Power of our Enemies were not enough to annoy us, after all, (if the Complaints of our Merchants and their Mariners be true) our Ships have been made a Prey by those who should have been their Guard and Convoy, and were employed for that Purpose.

And if we return again to Land, and consider the *State of the Countrie*, we shall there find all our Country Commodities at so low a Rate, as will hardly pay Wages and other necessary charges, besides reasonable Maintenance of the Families: And this Condition made harder by
Taxes

Taxes already granted and Levyed, and those unsuccessfully spent, and more expected. And such a Disappointment of the great Expectation, which was generally conceived of a happy change of Affairs, must needs produce an unhappy change in Mens minds.

And if we apply ourselves to consider the Proceedings of *our Councils*, the great Council of the Nation, and the King's Privy Council, we may there more easily find the Original Root, Occasions and Authors of all these Mischiefs, than any such sound Resolutions or Counsels, as ever were, or are likely either to have prevented, or now to redress the same. A bold Speech, this I confess it is; but being said, not maliciously out of any evil Principle or Design, but out of Zeal for the common Safety, and other good Ends, nor of particular Persons, I doubt not but the Evidence of Truth, and the Consciences of most, will excuse and acquit me. And yet I must be bold to say, there are some things passed, of which none of them all who were present, or concern'd, can acquit or excuse themselves.

Such was one of the first Acts of the Convention, the Form of their *Order for the Thanksgiving*. And if any one dare presume to excuse that as a small matter, I dare be bold to say, he hath but little sense of the Majesty of God concerned in it, of his extraordinary Mercy and Goodness in the Deliverance, of the dangerous Consequence of such a fault in the beginning of their Consultations, or what an Indication it was of an unhappy Temper and Disposition prevalent in that Assembly. But had the Form been altogether faultless, to order a solemn Thanksgiving to God, and never after do any real Act of Gratitude for his Honour and Service, when prophane Swearing, and other Impieties and Wickedness were grown to that height of Impudence and Presumption, is such a thing, as would be resented with Indignation by a mortal Man, and was more likely to provoke

voke a suspension at least of the Favours of Providence we enjoyed, than a continuance thereof. But of that more elsewhere.

One of the next things they did, was the ordering of a Committee for the business of *Ireland*: But, what have they done ever since in that business? Either nothing at all, or nothing to the purpose, as the Event, and what I have before taken notice of, doth plainly shew and demonstrate. And yet it is plain, there wanted not matter enough proper for their consideration. There were *English* Protestants enough in *Ireland*, to have defended themselves, and secured that Kingdom, had they not been disarmed, and their Arms contrary to Law, put into the hands of *Papists*; and notwithstanding that, had they but had Arms sent them in time; And had they needed some small Body of men at first, to whom they might have repaired, we had more in Arms and Pay here than we needed, and therefore, not only refused many who offered their Service, but Disbanded many of those we had. We had Ships also at the same charge, whether employed upon that Service or any other. Why then were not Men and Arms too, sent them in time, while our Men were Animated with Success, and the *Irish* under a Consternation? Why not we as forward as the *French*? And why, instead of sending to them, were so many of the *Irish* who had been in Arms here, suffered to return, and not rather employed in some Service of the Confederates, at least of the Emperour against the *Turk*, if they might not have been trusted against the *French*? And when by our neglect at first, there was need of a greater Force, if we had then Men enough in Arms, why were not more raised at home, of those who before had offered themselves, of those who were Disbanded, and of those who were forced from their Estates in *Ireland*, and wanted Maintenance here? But we must send for Forreigners without con-

sent of Parliament, and so incur the blame we cast upon others ; and send for such, which must protract the time, when we might as well have been certainly provided at home much sooner ? And whereas all this may seem to have been managed either for the real Service of King *James*, or for a colour, to bring in a Foreign Force for the Security of such as having been true, neither to Him, nor to their Country, durst now trust neither, but endeavoured to impose upon the present King, and under the old pretence of his Service, get into their own hands a power to enslave their Country ; it had been worth the Enquiry, how it was serviceable to the present Settlement ? and who were the Advisers and principal Agents in it ? And certainly such matters as this had been no improper nor unusual Business, for the Consideration of a Parliament.

The next and greatest matter of all, of civil Consideration, was *the long Debate about the Abdication*. This took them up little less than three Weeks time. And though there was reason enough to declare the Departure of King *James* under his Circumstances, an Abdication of the Government, he having before notoriously endeavoured the Subversion of the Constitution, actually, in divers great Instances, Violated the Fundamental Laws, given just cause of War to the Prince, and of Defence and Vindication of their Rights, to the People ; and after all, by recalling the Writs for a Parliament, refused a legal Determination of the matters in Question, all which make it plainly, rather the flight of a Criminal from Justice, than of an innocent Man *Metus causa & cum Animo revertendi* ; and a Cession or Dereliction of the Government in Fact, which his deliberate Violations declare he had before Deserted in Affection ; yet as if they indeed layed the whole stress upon the Departure ; and the other matters charged against King *James* were not criminal or punishable, so much as in *his Ministers, Counsellors,*

Counsellors, and Accomplices, or at least doubted their own Authority as a Parliament, *not one* of those, who by their wicked Counsels and Compliances, betrayed not only their Country, but their King himself, whom they pretended to serve, into such mischiefs as were like to have been fatal to both, (whatever yet may come of it) hath yet been *brought to condign Punishment, or so much as called in Question* upon a fair Tryal; quite contrary to all the Practice of our Ancestors; who always punished the Counsellors, Ministers and Agents in such Mischances, but rarely the Prince himself, unless in extraordinary cases directly tending to the Destruction or Subversion of the Government, as this did.

And whereas upon such a Revolution, one of the most necessary things to be done, especially when meeting with such Opposition as this hath, and is yet like to do, is to *Remove* as much as may be all *Occasions of Difference, and Unite all Parties* in a firm Agreement, for a *Mutual Assistance* in civil Matters, such hath been the Jealousies, Animosities, and preposterous Zeal of many, that a great part of the most sober and serious People of this Nation, are to this day, kept out of the Service of their Country, and the most debauched and profligate freely let in; and let in with the grossest Profanation of Sacred things, that hath, I think, been known in any Christian Nation; and no expedient can yet be agreed on, though in a matter of so great Importance.

And to sum up all that belongs to this Consideration of the Parliament, in one Word, they have been all along infested with a Spirit of Division, so prevalent upon them, that they have scarce done one brave and clever Action, nor so much as enquired to any purpose, into the Causes, and principal Authors of the evil Management of our Affairs, ever since they met.

Should we come nearer to the King himself, and enquire into the more secret Proceedings of his *Privy Council*, and great Ministers of State, 'tis possible we should come so much the nearer yet, to the Fountain head of much of this Unhappiness: For it must all have been either the Effect or Disappointment of their Counsels. But such an Enquiry is a business so proper for the grand Inquest of the Nation, that it is fit to be left to them to do it effectually.

But as for *the King* himself, this is apparent to the World, that the embroil'd, if not lost condition of *Ireland*, and the loss of this Summers Assistance to His Confederates, is a great Eclipse and Diminution of that Honour, which the success of his former Proceedings had acquired; and was of so great Importance to him for the farther Progress of His Affairs.

But I need not proceed farther on so ungrateful a subject; the Instances I have already produced, are sufficient to shew a *great and unhappy Change* in the Course and Progress of our Affairs, from so smooth and prosperous, that formidable Armies could give no check or interruption, but vanished like Smoke before the Wind, to so rough and disturbed, and that so universal in all, that neither Abroad nor at Home, at Sea or at Land, in Country or in Council, do we find any chearful face of Affairs, but every where Rubs, Impediments, Failures and Disappointments, and our way fenced up that we cannot pass.

So great a change as this, is enough to move the curiosity of an unconcerned Spectator to enquire into the *true Causes* of it, much more ought our own concern to move us to do it, with no less care and diligence, than a skilful and faithful Chyrurgeon would use, in the search of some dangerous Wound or Sore. Nor would it be hard to discover the particular, immediate Causes of many of these things; but to rest in them, would prove but a shallow and

and superficial Speculation ; and the Application of means for the redress of them alone, could not be expected to have better effect than the application of a Plaister to a deep and ulcerous Wound. Here is so great a concurrence of so many and various evil Symptoms, and particular immediate Causes conspiring to cross and disappoint us, as is a plain Indication of some more secret and powerful common cause influencing all. They are men of no very clear, (but clouded) Minds, or of no very strict Observation, who having any considerable time been conversant with Men and Business in the World, do not feel in themselves, and perceive in others, that the most minute concerns of men, are under the Conduct and Regimen of certain invisible Powers. Though Providence and Industry often succeed, yet we see them often defeated ; and lucky and unlucky Hits, as we call them, and those many times unaccountable, prevail above and against both ; and that not once or twice, but in a long course together. And had we but the understanding of *Balaam's Ass*, we might discern, that an Angel of the Lord is standing in our way to stop our Progress ; and that this great change, is indeed *Mutatio dextra Altissimi*. *Israel* hath sinned and transgressed, and therefore cannot prosper : Our strength is departed from us, and we are become like other men : Neither will it return, unless the cursed thing be found out and removed. This therefore is our business, which this change of success loudly calls us to, to find out the Sin that keeps good things from us, and to dissipate the Cloud that intercepts the benign Influences of Heaven. And to that end, it will be fit to return to that Period of the Revolution, the Exit of King *James*, and the Arrival of the Prince at the Royal Palace, and the confines of the Metropolis of the Nation, and consider what Indications have since occurred.

Here he was met and attended by most of the Nobility, and a numerous concourse of the Gentry and People
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of all Ranks and Qualities, from all parts of the Nation. And the very next Lord's Day, were the following **ADMONITIONS** very seasonably given to him, and to all then present, from the Pulpit; and soon after by his Highness's special Command, to all others from the Press, by a Person of great Name, who having shewed from the amazing Concurrence of Providence in the late Revolution, that it was the **L O R D's DOING**, he makes some *Reflections* upon it.

One whereof he thus Expresseth :

P. 22. *If we will carry on, and perfect this Marvellous WORK OF GOD, we must study to be such, that God may not repent him of the good which he seems to have prepared for us. While we are under such a happy Influence of Heaven, we must not RAISE UP SUCH AN INTERPOSITION between it and us, as may not only make us lose this happy Opportunity, but turn it to a Curse by the ill use we may make of it.*

Another he Expresseth in these Words :

P. 20. *If this WORK OF GOD possess us with the Veneration which is due to it, We ought NOT TO STOP THE COURSE OF IT, till it has had its full Effect ; nor to DAUB matters by slight and palliating Remedies. We see now before us the most GLORIOUS BEGINNING of a noble Change of the whole face of Affairs, both with relation to Religion, and the Peace of Europe, that we could have wish'd for. It is so far beyond our Hopes, that we durst scarce let our Wishes go so far : We may, if we are not wanting to our selves, and to the Conjectures before us, hope to see that which may be according to the Prophetick Stile, termed a New Heaven, and a New Earth. But if a Spirit of Jealousie and Murmuring, of Impatience and Faction, and of returning back to that out of which God has so signally extricated us, grows up ; so that instead of reaping the Fruits that we have now in Prospect,*
we

we have not Souls big enough, nor Hearts good enough to carry this on to Perfection, then we may justly fear our being DELIVERED UP to all those Evils from which we will not be healed, &c. And a little after, There is scarce any INDICATION more certain of the Sins of a Nation being grown up to that height, that it must be destroyed, than the MISCARRIAGE of so great a Deliverance as God has wrought for us, which will be an Eternal Blot on the Wisdom of the Nation, &c.

Again: P. 24. In order to the preventing the return of the like Evils, We must avoid the RELAPSING into the like Sins. It is neither the Union nor Wisdom of Councils, nor the Strength of Fleets or Armies, that will secure us from the Judgments of God, which we may expect will fall upon us with an extraordinary redoubling, of seven times heavier than any thing that we have yet seen or known, if those that are filthy, will be filthy still.—If Men think that their Fears are over, and that therefore they may give themselves up to work Wickedness without Restraint; then we may justly expect a return of the like, if not of greater Miseries.

And toward the Conclusion: P. 31. If in all that we do, we take not Care to have God ever on our Sides, it will be easie for him to blast all Councils, and to defeat even the greatest and best-laid Designs. We have now before our Eyes one of the signallest Instances that is in any History, of the Instability of all humane things, &c. Perhaps, some may imagine that we are safe, because we cannot be dashed on the same Rock, about which we see so great a Shipwreck: But alas! If we provoke God to hide his Face, and to withdraw his Protection from us, his Ways are past finding out: He can bring Ruine and Destruction on us from that Hand, from which perhaps we apprehend the least. If Prosperity and Success blow any up, and make them forget God, and all the Vows that they made to him, he will never want Means and Methods to make them return to themselves, and to remember him.

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To these I will subjoyn one more delivered by the same Person upon the solemn Occasion of the Coronation, in these Words:

Page 3. *Those who are raised up to a high Eminence of Dignity, are so much the more accountable both to God and Man, not only for all the Ill, which either they themselves, or others acting in their Name, or by their Example may have done; but likewise for all the Good which they might have done, but did not. And as they have much to answer for to God, so likewise men expect much from them. &c.*

These are all truths, and so plain truths, that there needed no extraordinary Spirit of Prophecie to reveal them: and yet I doubt not but we may say truly, *This spake he not of himself, but* being ordered to preach on such occasion, *he prophesied.* If we believe that this great work was the work of God, in whose hand are the hearts of all men, why should we question but he who directed the Wind at Sea, directed also now at their arrival here, the motions of this mans heart to so seasonable and necessary Admonitions for the farther promotion of that work, which he had so eminently favoured hitherto? And the great change in the progress of affairs, which we have since seen, confirms the same, inasmuch as it shews the Admonitions to have been not a little necessary. And if that be so, it is the more likely that *some Miscarriage* there hath been, contrary not only to certain Duties, but to some such particular express Admonition; which is a great aggravation of that fault, which hath had the unhappy effect to raise up such an *Interposition* between the happy Influence of Heaven and us.

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pectation or Hope; but none more than this. But they all deserted imprudently the Conduct, and ungratefully the Service of that benign Providence, and following their own ways, were thereupon deserted by it, and *Rehobam*-like left to the unsound and pernicious Counsels of Flatterers, and unfaithful self-seeking Favourites, who for their own sinister ends divided the Common Cause, and set up a Separate Interest of Prerogative against Law, and King against the People, and turned the Court and Church into a *Combined Faction*. This hath been the *Stumbling Stone* and *Rock of Offence* to all the former; and I know not any thing that can be more dangerous to this, and if he be not well aware of it, to the remainder of that Royal Family, if not to Monarchy it self in this Nation. *

* *Ames!*
This is a matter of so great consequence for the Peace and Prosperity both of King and People to be well understood, that it deserves a more particular consideration. And these *two Observations* will make it very plain and apparent. 1. It is certain that by the Constitution of our Government the King can legally do very little, but by the Advice of some legal Council. The *Councils*, by whose Advice he is to proceed, are 1. The Great Council of the Kingdom, the *Parliament*. 2. The Lords, who are *Conciliarii Nati*. 3. The *Kings Council for matters of Law*, anciently consisting of other and more persons, besides the Judges and Sergeants, than now are consulted with: And 4. The *Privy Council*. But *Secret Cabals* and *Cabinet Councils* of Favourites are neither agreeable to the *English* Constitution, nor have been ever successful, but always pernicious and destructive, to such Kings as have most relied on them. In what is done by advice of Legal Council, the King is always, and ought to be, excused, and the advisers answerable for it: But what is done by illegal Councils, is imputed to the King himself, and usually produceth Discontents in the people. And of this was *K. Ch. II.* very sensible, when in his Declaration *Apr. 20*

1679. he tells the Privy Council, *He is sorry for the ill success he hath found in this course, and sensible of the ill posture of affairs, from that, and some unhappy Accidents, which have raised great Jealousies and Dissatisfaction among his good Subjects, and thereby left the Crown and Government in a condition too weak for those dangers we have reason to fear both at home and abroad.* And then declaring his Hopes that those evils may be prevented by a course of wise and steady Counsels for the future, and these Kingdoms grow again to make such a figure as they have formerly done in the World, and as they may always do, if our **U N I O N** and **C O N - D I T I O N** were equal to our Force; and his Resolution to that end to lay aside the use he had made of any single Ministry or private Advisers, and to constitute such a Privy Council, as for number and choice may be fit, and to govern by constant Advice of such a Council together with the frequent use of his great Council of Parliament; he adds, which he takes to be the true Ancient Constitution of this State and Government. The mode was before, and soon taken up again, to draw the Orders, matters of greatest moment being first resolved in a private Cabal, as made by the King in Council, instead of by advice of the Council; and to prefix the Names of all present, instead of each, who consented to them, subscribing his own; so that none could be charged with what was done but the King himself; which was no less prejudicial to the King and Kingdom, than contrary to ancient custome and the good Polity of our Ancestors.

The other observation is this: What at first, and for some time, was ordered by the Assemblies of Christians, the Clergy in process of time assumed to themselves to order alone: and what was then done by the Common Council of the Clergy, the Bishops afterward assumed to themselves alone with their Chancellors. And in some ages after the Bishops of Rome made the like Encroachments upon the Right of all, especially in matters of most ad-

vantage, as the disposing of Bishopricks, &c. At last Hen. 8. with us perceiving the injustice of the Papal usurpations, instead of restoring things to the right and original Institution, so far prevailed with his Parliament, as to get all annexed to the Crown. And no doubt this was thought a special acquiescence, and much for the advantage of the King and his Successors: but it proved like ill gotten goods, a pernicious morsel. For it soon excited the most aspiring of the Clergy to seek by Flatteries to obtain their Favour, who had the disposal of the great Preferments of the Church. This soon produced false Notions concerning the Royal Power; and the interest of those who designed that Profession made those Notions easily swallowed without much examination; till at last the very youth in the Universities were leavened with them, and being so early seasoned therewith, they could not but take deep root in many honest and well-meaning persons. Again, this must needs have the like influence upon Kings, who are of themselves as apt to assume, as Flatterers are to attribute, whatever tends to the enlargement of their Power. On the other side, the greatest part of the Nation, that is all, who have no temptation to Flattery, well knowing their own Rights, could not be wheedled out of them with mistaken Names and groundless Notions. And from these two Roots have sprung that *combined Faction*, which hath so long and often occasioned the shaking this Throne with such violent concussions, and will undoubtedly overturn it, if things be not restored in time to their right order.

And to prevent so great a mischief, it may be farther serviceable to observe the Difference between this Faction, or the *Factionous Church of England*, and the *true Church of England*. For as the *Church of Rome* arrogates to it self the Name and Title of Catholick, and excludes all others who are not of that Communion, from any right to it, and yet is it self at best, but a part of that which is indeed the

the *Catholick Church* ; so the great Zealots for this Faction, under the Name of the Church of *England*, will hardly deign the Name of Church of *England men*, to any who run not to the same excess with themselves ; though if the matter be rightly computed, they will not be found so great a part of those who do justly come under that denomination, much less of the People and Strength of this Nation, as they may seem to some, and would be thought to be. For of those, who are not inferiour to any either in Conformity to the Church, both in Doctrine and Worship, and that not out of any sneaking or crafty compliance, but judgment and choice ; or in true Loyalty and Fidelity to the King in his Just and Legal Rights ; they are as little inferiour in Number or Interest, who notwithstanding, preferring Christianity it self before any particular Church, and a compleat genuine Loyalty to the intire State and Constitution, before a partial pretended Loyalty to any party in it, do not think themselves obliged, either by any Duty to the present Church, to neglect the great Duties of Christianity, Charity, and reasonable condescension in things indifferent ; or by any Reverence to Ancestors, to neglect what is necessary at this time, as well for Peace and Unity, as for supply and improvement of what they themselves had begun, and declare was not then compleat and perfect : Or lastly, by any partial Loyalty, or even Oath of Fidelity to the King (which extends but to his just Rights, and those too for the benefit of the whole, so that he cannot alienate or alter them at his own pleasure) to desert the Rights of their Country, and the confessed true ancient Constitution of the State and Government. And these solid Principles being grounded upon Truth and Justice, wherein another great part of the Nation is equally concerned, must needs prevail at last against the false pretences of a violent Faction, which hath no other support but Ambition, Avarice and Animosity, animated by the Favour or Compliance

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of flattered, easie, and deceived Prince, though they create no little disturbance for some time, for the enjoyment of their great beloved *Diana*. Besides, if we consider the tendency of the Motions of the Divine Providence at this time, it is not likely that our Lord will much longer suffer such unprofitable Servants in his Vineyard, but spue out the *Laodicean* Faction out of his mouth, unless they speedily mend their manners. But to return

The Arm of God, that is his Divine Providence, was not less apparent in that Revolution, which restored *King Charles II.* than in this, which hath brought this King to the Throne; nor less obliging. Nor were the opportunities then less than now, which were put into his hands to have made himself and these Kingdoms happy; but he insensible of that Illustrious Providence, and regardless of his Word, gave up himself to Sensuality, aery phantasies, and crafty Policies, and most ungratefully by an evil example, transfused a torrent of all kind of Vice, Fraud, Injustice, Profaneness, Contempt of Religion, and all manner of impudent Wickedness, all over the Nation. And all this descended as a charge upon his *Successor*, either to be expunged and discharged by solemn Humiliation and effectual Reformation, or to be answered and born by himself in the Measure of Punishment and Affliction to be laid upon him. But this was a matter which had too much of the Influences and Approbation of his own party, to be checked or restrained by him. On the contrary, it was by him aggravated with additions of such violences and bare-fac'd bold illegal attempts, and those for so ungrateful an end, the restitution of the Romish Abominations, as his Brother had either more consideration, or less courage, than ever to venture upon, till the Land cast him out; those very Persons, who had basely betrayed him into those mischiefs, by pretences of Loyalty, and magnifying Prerogative above the Law and the Truth, and by flattering Addresses, being many as forward as
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any to conspire against him, when their own Interest was touched, and others to come into the prevailing Party ; and will likewise betray, whoever they are, who shall trust or rely upon them.

This was *the State, in which the Prince at his Arrival found this Kingdom* : And if this was *the Marvellous work of God* to bring him hither, we may easily perceive from hence what was *the Princes Work* for which he was brought. Shall we think it was to drive out Popery and Arbitrariness, that we might enjoy our Rights, and therewith the greater Liberty to profane a purer Religion, and by impudent violation of it, bring all Religion into contempt ? No, no, these were but such accessions of the Principal Evil, as made way for the ejection of that unhappy deluded Prince, as well for neglect of his Duty, in not restraining the over-spreading Impiety and Wickedness of the Nation, as for his own additional transgressions. And if after all it be not now reformed, it will certainly prove such a Canker and Root of bitterness, as will soon grow up to produce the like evil fruit again of itself, without any such additional. For can any one imagine that the Abominations of Debauchery and Impiety can be less offensive to the most Holy God, than the Abominations of Popery ? Or that the Popish Superstitions, Errours, and Impostures, can be more offensive to him than impudent and presumptuous violation, and notorious profanation of a purer Religion, and open contempt of all ? If not, then the Reformation of those Impieties and Wickedness, which have over-spread the Nation, but especially the Nobility and Gentry, and most of all the Army, which soon submitted to him, was a special and principal part of his Work, which he was conducted, and as it were, led by the hand to do. And therefore plainly without more saying, by neglect of this was *the Fault* committed : In this was the *stop put* to the course of this Work of God : This was *the Good,*
which

which might have been done but was not, and is therefore to be accounted for both to God and Man : This neglect it being one of the great sins of the former Kings, was therefore now a *Relapse* into the same : This was a neglect, of *Care to have God ever on our side* : And by this was the *Interposition raised* between the happy influence of Heaven and us : A fault committed against a great Duty, after so admirable a Divine Conduct to it, and so many express and weighty Cautions and Admonitions.

And yet this is not all, for the same Divine Providence, which so seasonably gave him these Admonitions by one, as seasonably sent him *a Specimen of a Declaration against Debauchery* by another, with no mean Motives closely couched in a short Letter. It was Composed according to the Princes Authority, and the State of Affairs as it then was, the expressions of command directed only to the Armies and Souldiery, who were properly subject to his Command, what had respect to the Civil Magistrate or future Parliament, in expressions only of hope and expectation. And as much as this might have been done by any General of an Army; but God with the success, he had given to him, had given him also that Authority and Respect in the minds of all men, which would have extended the Effect of such a Declaration to those to whom it was not directed; and he would also undoubtedly, had the Prince but first declar'd, and then shewed his Resolution by distributing his Favours according to mens Conformity thereunto, have made all as quietly comply therewith, as he made the Army submit to his Power, and have made this second atchievement no less Glorious to him than the former, not only for confirmation, but augmentation also of his Honour and Authority. His very Presence should have dispersed the Wickedness of this Nation; and the Divine Presence should have continued with him, and have given him Rest and Happiness. But here was the Fault, an unhappy, though I hope not yet fatal, fault committed. The

The Wise Governour of the World, whom he calls out to any special Service, them he usually, if not always, leads to some special *Trial* of their *Fidelity*; wherein, if they acquit themselves well, he makes them afterward very happy and prosperous, but if ill, either wholly lays them aside, or leaves them to great difficulties, till they recover themselves by Repentance, and some very generous Act of Fidelity. This Declaration was presented to him the same day in the morning, on which the Lords in the afternoon presented him with an Address to accept of the Administration till a free Parliament could be assembled. That both these proposals were presented to him on the same day, was not without the Disposal of the Divine Providence. The one was for the Honour and Service of God, the other in appearance for his own Honour; and both made up a plain compleat *Trial*. And the latter he accepted; but the former hath been neglected to this day. The *cause* of such neglect is principally either the Fascination of *Prosperity*, which disposeth men to forget God, or the Deceitfulness of *Worldly Wisdom*, which betrays them to forsake him, and apply themselves to ordinary sensible means to secure what they do in fact prefer before him. When these two meet they make a strong *Temptation*; but against both he had the fresh Experience of the Favour of God, and of the irresistible Power of the Divine Providence over him, and making all things easy and plain before him; and this made the fault the greater and more inexcusable.

Nor is this so small and inconsiderable a matter as sensual men may be apt to think it, which possibly may be the better perceived if we take notice more distinctly of the several *particular Ingredients* comprehended in it, and how aptly certain *like particulars*, of which the unhappiness of this Change is composed, do correspond to them. And *first*, if we consider it only as a *Neglect* of Duty and *Desertion* for the present of a principal part of the Work, to

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which he was led in so extraordinary a manner by the propitious Providence of God, is it not as plain that that propitious Providence, which before made his Progress so exceeding smooth, easie, and successful, hath in like manner since either deserted, or so neglected his affairs, that all have either gone back, stood still, or proceeded very slowly. *Secondly*, as this Neglect was also a matter of *Unfaithfulness* in his Lords Service, in which he was as a special Instrument, employed and intrusted; so never was Unfaithfulness more notorious, than in the occurrences of this last year, in such as were employed and intrusted under him, as is commonly believed, and shall be discovered in its causes hereafter. *Thirdly*, it was a Neglect of his *Honour*, who had conferred by so extraordinary success, so much Honour and Reputation upon him; and such change of success is usually attended with proportionable diminution of Honour and Reputation. *Lastly*, here was (the Root of all) a *Desertion of Dependance and Trust* in that potent Providence, which had favoured him hitherto in so extraordinary a manner, and recourse to deceitful *Worldly Wisdom*. It was the Unhappiness of King *James I.* that after an admirable Deliverance from an horrid Popish Conspiracy ready for execution, he applied himself first to connivance, and at last to association with Papists for his security; which contrary to his expectation proved the Original of all the mischiefs, which have since befallen his Family: So likewise this Prince, after as great an experience of the Divine Providence over him, lest the Kingdom should return to King *James*, thought to deal wisely with them, and (after *Hushai's* advice) defer this great Work, first till the Kingdom should be settled, and then when he was Proclaimed King, till *Ireland* should be reduced, and he should have sufficient Power (an Arm of Flesh) to do it effectually, and in the mean time try what effect a good example and kindness, intrusting them with Offices and Employments in State, Army and Navy, would

would have upon such vitious people in the end, which in like manner, contrary to his expectation, hath proved the Original of all the Impediments and Disappointments in his affairs. *O that my people had hearkened unto me, and Israel had walked in my ways ! I should soon have subdued their Enemies, and turned my hand against their Adversaries. The Haters of the Lord (the Profane and Debauched) should have submitted themselves unto him : but their time should have endured for ever. Psal. 81. 13. Now would the Lord have established thy Kingdom upon Israel for ever. 1 Sam. 13. 13.*

This was the Root of the Miscarriage: *Hast thou not procured this unto thy self, in that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, when he led thee by the way ? Jer. 2. 17.* From hence hath plainly proceeded this great change of the former prosperous course of Affairs into so disturbed, impeded and unsuccessful, even by a natural Chain of Causes after the first breach, but those moved and promoted (by the Divine Permission) by other invisible Powers than those which gave that great success before. The presence of so favourable a Providence, ought to have been answered with a proportionable Magnanimity, Resolution and Constancy, in dependance upon that Divine Power ; but in such a case, to stoop to compliance to those, who ought to have been awed and subdued, is dishonourable, and a great offence to those Divine Powers : And if those be once provok'd to withdraw, a man sinks presently under the Power of them, who otherwise should have been subject to him. And by this Fault without doubt, and his acceptance of their State, did this Prince *enter into the Fate of his Ancestors* of this Nation, and will be daily more and more involved therein, until it either prove fatal to him, or he by Repentance and some Magnanimous and resolute change of his course and methods, extricate himself.

And it is very observable that he not only fell by *the same Sin*, but fell into *the very same Faction*, which for the four last Reigns successively, have by their Flatteries of Princes for their private advantage, and provocations of the people by Tricks, illegal Projects and Practices, brought all those mischiefs which we have seen and felt, upon both : Whereas both civil Prudence, and Duty to God, *i. e.* Fidelity to the Conduct of his Providence, required that he should have maintained the Reputation and Authority he was raised to, made himself Umpire of all Parties, restrained the Excesses, and discouraged the Insolences of each, and with a mixture of Authority and equal Kindness to all, reduced them as near as might be to a Union, at least to a mutual agreement in matters of common concern. But by the course of Affairs, he seems to have been rather passive than active in the management thereof ; and what Counsels prevailed therein may by the same also be perceived.

Nor was it only into the same Faction that he fell, but into the hands of *those very Persons*, who in the Reign of King Charles the Second (for under King James they were overtopp'd by others) were the principal Advisers and Managers in those illegal Projects, and now being conscious of their own Guilt and Desert, have by themselves and their tools, not only hitherto obstructed Justice, upon the betrayers of their King and Country, to the great disparagement of the present Settlement, but animated such a mungrel party, and therewith filled many Offices of the Revenue, Army and Navy, as are real and hearty neither to this nor the former King, but intending only their own safety or advantage, are disposed to act, as in a doubtful case, so as may best serve their turn, which ever prevail. And from this sort of people have proceeded most of the Rubs and Difficulties in our Proceedings ; and among such, it could not be hard for some of the Agents of King James to creep in.

But

But as when men do not closely and fully follow the Divine Conduct, if they be but a little deserted by it, and left to themselves, they are immediately exposed to various miscarriages ; so there was *another miscarriage of his Ancestors*, into which he likewise fell, if what is commonly affirmed and believed is true; which proved a great inlet unto all sorts, and the very worst of men, into Offices and Employments, and that was permitting the *Sale of Offices and Places* ; or granting them at the solicitation of such as did it for money ; and which is worse yet, such as were strangers, and utterly unacquainted with Persons and their Qualities. This could not but expose very considerable Places to the Agents, not only of King James, but of the *French King*, to be purchased with his money (which of late is become more common here than ever) no doubt but for his own advantage. He is believed to have been a good Chapman to those who were before in places to do him but some particular service ; and therefore to get in such as were intirely at his service, he would undoubtedly be much more liberal ; but especially under such a juncture of affairs, when the Purchase of our Diversion in *Ireland* but for this last Summer, was worth for ought I know as much as half his Kingdom.

Now from such people as by these means might be, and undoubtedly were, let into places of great importance, what can be expected less than all *Unfaithfulness* and *Treachery* imaginable ? and what less from that, than such Success and *Disappointments* as we have met with ? And what is a more natural product of that, especially when it proceeds either immediately or originally from a mans own oversight or miscarriage, than Dishonour and Contempt ? or a juster provocation of the Divine Majesty to cause or permit it to befall them, than their neglect of his Honour and Service ? *He poureth Contempt upon Princes, and weakeneth the strength of the Mighty, Job 12. 21. Psal. 107. 40. They that honour me I will honour, but they that despise*

despise me shall be lightly esteemed, 1 Sam. 2. 30. So easily can the most Wise and Powerful God, when he pleaseth, cause a just punishment in all circumstances of Mens Mis-carriages to proceed even naturally from some small insensible beginning in their own actions. Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backslidings shall reprove thee: Know therefore and see, &c. Jer. 2. 19.

And yet to give some gentle admonitions, that there was more than meerly natural in it, he was pleased to intermix some occurrences of a *distinguishing Providence*. Such was that brave, undaunted, and admirably successful Resistance of all the Assaults of King James his Force in a close Siege, for near Twelve Weeks together, by those poor unexperienced and undisciplined, but sober and serious people of *London-Derry*: Such the magnanimous and successful Attacks of the *Irish Forces* by those of *Inniskilling*: Whereas the Famous General *Schomberg*, with all his disciplin'd Forces of the old Army, and his experienc'd and lately successful Forreign Forces, had not the power to hurt or attack the *Irish Army*, which lay encamped so long together almost by his side: And such was that in *Scotland*, when one single new-raised Regiment bore the brunt, and defeated the same Force which before had beaten the General there with several Regiments of the old Army.

And it is very observable to this purpose, *how little serviceable* either to King James in *England*, or to King William in *Ireland*, those poor creatures of *that dissolute Army* have been; whose provoking sins, by a generous mixture of Authority, and Encouragement to reform, might have been restrained at first, and in a great measure cured, to the Honour of God, and greater Service in this Cause? But on the contrary, many of them there, languishing in their Iniquities, and Corporal Sicknens together, have only helped to consume our Provisions, and are daily consumed by Death, and swallowed up of the Earth; the Merciful God being constrained to purge the Land by degrees by his severer

verer methods, while inconsiderate men neglect to be the Instruments of his milder. A pitiful and deplorable Case indeed ; which I cannot think on without sad Reflections upon him to whom this matter was so early recommended, with no inconsiderable, though very plain admonitions relating to his Station.

And I do the rather take notice of this here, because this *Person* was, of all Men, *next to the Prince himself, concerned* in this matter, in regard as well of the Circumstances he then was in, as of that special Recommendation of a matter of so great consequence to his care. Whoever was the Person by whom it was recommended, it was undoubtedly by the secret direction of the same Providence which directed his Admonitions, and no less obliged him, than those did them to whom they were delivered. If he did faithfully discharge the Duty of his Circumstances as he ought, he hath the less to answer for : but then that is an unhappy Ingredient in this case. But if he did not, but instead of the personal, plain and powerful Admonitions and Perswasions of a judicious and faithful Divine, he took up with the prudential Considerations of a Statesman or Politician ; and instead of imminding the Prince of his great Duty of attendance to the Conduct of that powerful Providence which attended him, and of exciting him to a magnanimous prosecution of that glorious work to which it led him ; he prudentially mislead him to stop at the Bait which lay in his way, and *daubing*, even stoop to raise such as oppos'd him, and by compliance, animate a mungrel Party ; he disabled the Prince by lowering his Authority, hath unhappily retarded, if not defeated a principal part of the Glorious Work which God had laid before us, and must be *accountable both to God and Man for all the Good he might have done, and did not*, and for all the Evil which hath followed upon this neglect ; and the more, because contrary to his own Admonitions.

True

True Divinity is much different from the Notional, Schismatical and Polemick, in which a man may be very ready, and have besides a great furniture of other Reading, Oratory, and all kind of Polite Learning, as they call it, enough to make him look big, and be admired in the World, and yet be very unskilful in the other. It is a Divine Wisdom, a quick Understanding in the Fear of the Lord, not to be learned in Schools, but taught of God, a Divine Ray cast into, and kindly received in a well purified Soul; which gives it a clear, distinct Sight, and true Estimate of the different value and worth of things; an Abhorrence of what is really Evil, a Contempt of what is splendid and gaudy, but empty and vain, the Poms and Vanities of the World; and a just Esteem of all that is really Good, according to their different degrees: of God above all, and therefore with a great care and concern for his Honour and Service; of the blessed Creatures above us, that they may be gratified, and not grieved or offended; and of the Souls of Men, that they may be rescued from Perdition; but of the Temporal Concerns of Men, as they are subservient to this: directs it to act as a Child of Light, discerning what is acceptable to the Lord, and what is displeasing to him. It is not to be *attained* by Men, whose affections are intagled in the things of the World, nor constantly enjoyed by such as are immersed in the business of it: and yet without it, no man, let his Natural Parts, his acquired Accomplishments, his Degree in Holy Orders, and his Preferments in the Church be what they will, can be a *true Divine*; but is in truth so much the greater Impostor, appearing in Habit and External Form what he really is not; a carnal, sensual or animal man at the best, not having the good Spirit, but in many things obnoxious to the Impressions and Deceits of the subtle Evil one; and therefore most dangerous to Princes and Persons concerned in the great Affairs of the World, to be relied on. But this I intend only for a general Caution,

bers ; which had been an Act of Charity and Providence for the good of their Country and of themselves, as well as of Religion and Gratitude to God. For his Blessing is not to be expected upon their Consultations now, till the Impieties and Wickedness of their own Members be reformed or removed. And to them it belonged also to have made some Examples by Justice upon the Betrayers of the Rights of their Country, as well to assert the Justice of their own Proceedings against the late King, as to prevent encouragement to the like Practices for the future by their Connivance. And to them it belonged to have made a timely Enquiry into the Mismanagement of Affairs, whether by Ministers, Counsellors, Officers, or by the King himself ; and to have plainly, that is, faithfully represented the same to the King, and desired Redress of what had been done amiss by himself, and proceeded against the rest according to their desert. This was their Duty : This had been like a true *English* Parliament : And this doing, we might have expected God's Blessing : For he favours not the Wicked nor Fools, who mind not their own business. But such a Pusillanimity and Baseness has possessed our Parliaments of late, since the dissolute Manners were so encouraged by *Ch. II.* that they have been more apt to complement away the Rights of their Country, to gratify the Humour of the King, and the Safety and Honour of the King himself, to please his Minions and Favourites, than do any honest, faithful and generous Act for the preservation and real benefit of either.

Before I quite leave the Parliament it may be fit to remember the *Bishops*, who make a part thereof, and in this case deserve a special Consideration. They are the Chief Governours of this Church : To them it belongs by their Office to take care of the Manners of the People, to be concerned at great, common and notorious National Sins, to admonish and importune the Civil Magistrate ; and being moreover Members of Parliament, to propose and promote

mote good Laws, for the Correction and Reformation thereof. And all matters of Religion do so peculiarly belong to their Care, that the Neglects before mentioned in the King and in the Parliament, are with no less Reason, but rather more especially chargeable upon them. And it is an ill sign of the great prevalence of Impiety and Wickedness in the State or Parliament it self, if they durst not, or of *Laodicean* Coldness and insensibility in themselves, if they would not; for certain it is they did not do in their station in the House, what so singular a Mercy of God, the so sinful State of the Nation, this late great Change we have suffered in the course of our Affairs, and the present cloudy Face of things do so plainly require. Such a Neglect at such a time as this, may justly move us to reflect upon former times, and the many and great Advantages, Opportunities, Occasions and Provocations they have long had to do Good both at home and abroad; and considering notwithstanding how little hath been done, to suspect that *Constantine's* Poyson hath some Lethargick or Narcotick Vertue in it to benum the Nerves, and stupifie the Spirits and Life of Zeal and Devotion in such as taste but a little too deep of it. And of this, to what is already mentioned, I will add Two *fresh Instances* of my own knowledge: the one of a *great Clergy-man*, who having well provided for himself in the World before elsewhere, and besides gotten good Preferment here, could yet permit, though admonish'd of it, the Propagation of Religion among his own Countrey-men to go a begging here for so small a Relief and Assistance as he himself might very well have supplied: The other of *some Dignified Persons* of considerable Note in the Church, who when a well affected Lay-man out of pity to Forty or Fifty Thousand Souls, had considered and proposed to have the Care of so great a Parish committed to some man of a Primitive Christian Disposition, who contenting himself with a reasonable share of

bers ; which had been an Act of Charity and Providence for the good of their Country and of themselves, as well as of Religion and Gratitude to God. For his Blessing is not to be expected upon their Consultations now, till the Impieties and Wickedness of their own Members be reformed or removed. And to them it belonged also to have made some Examples by Justice upon the Betrayers of the Rights of their Country, as well to assert the Justice of their own Proceedings against the late King, as to prevent encouragement to the like Practices for the future by their Connivance. And to them it belonged to have made a timely Enquiry into the Mismanagement of Affairs, whether by Ministers, Counsellors, Officers, or by the King himself ; and to have plainly, that is, faithfully represented the same to the King, and desired Redress of what had been done amiss by himself, and proceeded against the rest according to their desert. This was their Duty : This had been like a true *English* Parliament : And this doing, we might have expected God's Blessing : For he favours not the Wicked nor Fools, who mind not their own business. But such a Pusillanimity and Baseness has possessed our Parliaments of late, since the dissolute Manners were so encouraged by *Ch. II.* that they have been more apt to complement away the Rights of their Country, to gratifie the Humour of the King, and the Safety and Honour of the King himself, to please his Minions and Favourites, than do any honest, faithful and generous Act for the preservation and real benefit of either.

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the Profits, would have distributed the rest among as many young Curates as it would maintain, whereby both the needs of the people might have been better supplied, and those Persons by their mutual advices and assistance in such a Work, the better fitted and prepared for the Cure of Souls in Parishes of their own, yet were pleased to interpose for the Presentation, and so far as to obtain it at least from another Competitor in no commendable manner, for one who had at that time a good Parsonage, a good Lecture, and a good Prebend, as a Preferment for him.

Such *Scuffling for Preferments in the Church* is a great Scandal to many ingenious Lay-Spectators, to suspect the Sincerity of those who take upon them to be Preachers of the Gospel, and yet discover so little of the Power and Effects thereof in their own Actions. And this cannot but greatly obstruct the good effect of all their Preaching upon such. It is also a great Temptation to one of the greatest and most common immediate causes of most of our Mischiefs, both publick and private, Over-valuation and Greediness of the Superfluities of the things of this World, which all their Preaching can never cure, while it is daily confirmed and heightened, by such Examples. And from the same root doth proceed all that Pharisaical Zeal for the Church, and Jealousie and Dread of the least alteration, though never so reasonable and necessary, in many, who shew little sense of Religion in any thing else, which hath long disturbed both Church and State, and doth at this time expose both to danger. These things being observed, together with so great coldness in the weighty matters of the Law, cannot but cool the affections of their best friends to them; and avert the favour both of God and Man from them. This therefore we may reasonably look upon as one of the Original and Provoking Causes of this Stop and Change of the late Happy course of Affairs. *Thou sayest I am rich and increased*

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sed with Goods, and have need of nothing ; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind ? Be zealous therefore and repent.

Concerning our *Judges* and *Civil Magistrates* I have little to say : Our Courts of Justice are so well filled with such Persons, as the Profession of the Law doth not afford better than most of them are ; only few of those who are in were more worthily preferred, than one, whom I need not name, was unworthily left out. His personal Worth doth well qualifie him for that Service ; and his singular Merit, in his generous appearing for the Service of his Country, in occasions of greatest difficulty, did most justly claim it : and however it came to pass, certainly no man of Vertue and Ingenuity would ever oppose it.

But because Corruption and Abuses in great Places, besides other mischiefs are of pernicious consequence by their Example, I think fit to take notice of one which deserves Correction, because it not only concerns divers great Lords, but is obstinately persisted in contrary to the Opinion and Advice of Mr. *Attorney* himself. And if the Lords will pass by such an abuse to themselves, I know not what people of inferiour Quality may expect in time. It is the needless and illegal Charge they are put to, before they can be inserted into the Commission of the Peace of any County for *Custos Rotulorum*. I need but name it.

As to the *Army and Navy*, the Seamen are generally honest, and true to their Country and the Protestant Religion, and many among them sober and serious people ; but a great part of their Officers, and the Land Army, who were nearer the influence of the evil Examples at the Court, are generally so dissolute and debauched, that it is not to be believed that God will ever be with them, or prosper them, but rather by degrees waste and consume them, till he has wholly purged the Land of them ; and therefore so unhappy a Company of people amongst us, must needs make us unprosperous and unsuccessful, till they be either destroyed or reformed.

Concerning *the Body of the People of England*, though
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the unhappy effects of the pernicious Examples at Court have reach'd all Ranks and Degrees amongst us, yet have they been most prevalent upon such as were nearer in degree or converse to it ; so that the lower Ranks of men, which are most numerous, and the strength of the Nation, though not wholly escaped, have yet been least corrupted by them ; and were but the Examples of Vertue in our great men now, but any way proportionable to what their Examples of Vice have been for so long past, I do not doubt but they would soon appear again as considerable as heretofore they have done. So that there is little to be noted in them, but what is derived from those above them, and is plainly to be imputed, not more to their neglect of good Examples, good Laws, and good Execution, than to the energy of their wicked, profane, and impious Examples. And these being besides only Passive, and concerned only in the Success, not in the Management of the Affairs, are not so much to be considered in the case. Nor shall I say any thing of our Confederates beyond Sea. And therefore to draw up the conclusion

The CONCLUSION.

AS almost all the Wickedness of the former Reigns proceeded originally from those Kings, and Judgment hath been begun first to be executed upon them ; so hath likewise the Fault, whereby that great Work, whereof this King was called out to be the Glorious Instrument in these Nations, hath been hitherto interrupted, plainly proceeded from himself. For by Neglect, through prudential Connivance, of the Duty to which he was led, and through politick Compliance, of the Authority to which he was raised, by so manifest a Divine Conduct, he did not so much engage to himself, as animate against his Interest, that party which first opposed his ascent to the Throne, and afterward by pernicious Counsels, and under-hand Dealings, as is believed, imposed upon him, disappointed his Proceedings, weakened his Reputation, and intangled him in their Snares ; which yet, had he steadily followed the Divine Conduct, must have stooped, and quietly submitted to him.

And

And now if we look forward, there are but *two ways* before him, one plain and direct, the other devious, dangerous, full of precipices and certain mischiefs; *Via Lucis*, & *Via Tenebrarum*; the Right Way, which he left; and this which he hath unhappily chosen, wherein if he proceeds, he is like to fall into one of these *Inconveniencies*: Either to be dangerously undermined by K. James his Party, of which are many of the Faction before mentioned, tho they have sworn Fidelity to him; or else to be irrecoverably engaged with the old Instruments of Arbitrariness, who considering how ill they have deserved of their Country, can think of no better expedient to cover their own former illegal Projects, then drawing the present King into a participation with themselves in the like.

The *natural tendency* of this Way to those ends, is very apparent upon a humane consideration; and if we consider it with respect to the *Divine Providence*, as we have great reason to expect upon the considerations before mentioned, some Divine Judgment upon it, so none can be more agreeable to the Divine Methods in such a case, than one of those I have now mentioned, that is, either to give him up to those *Rehoboam-Counsels*, which have been so pernicious to his Predecessors in this Throne; or to permit things to be brought to an *æquilibrium* between the two Princes; and by the one way, or other, put an end to that Family and Government, which notwithstanding all the methods, which have been used to reduce them to a sense of their Duty, do still continue so unprofitable to his Service, as some of them have before been Obstacles and pernicious Adversaries to it, which yet stands undischarged upon account against their Successors.

But I hope and doubt not but *the other direct and safe way* is still open for him to return unto, only being now somewhat more difficult, it will require, and deservedly, so much the greater Resolution. And this I take to be the way: First, to be careful to use all approv'd means for the *Recovery of the Divine Favour*; and then to apply to the
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use of such *Humane Means*, as true Wisdom and solid Policy direct and require. But it must be in this Order, or else he will never recover the like prosperous Success; but whatever alterations in Ministers or Politicks he shall make without that, will either prove unsuccessful, or prove so to him, he shall have but little enjoyment of it.

For the *Recovery of the Divine Favour* in this case it will be absolutely necessary,

1. To settle, by good consideration of the many express Declarations and parallel Examples in the Sa. Scripture, a *right and firm Judgment*; 1. That whatever were the immediate apparent Causes of the former happy Success, and of the ill success since, yet that the Principal, hegemonical Cause in both was from God. 2. That the Provoking Cause of this great Change must have been no small Sin. 3. That there can be no hope of recovery of the Divine Favour and former Prosperous Condition, but by effectual removal of that Sin, whatever it be. 4. That of all the Sins, which have been noted for the greatest Provocations of the like Judgements heretofore, there are none so likely to have had such unhappy effect in this case as that which is so often expressed in the Sacred Scripture by the phrase of the *Heart being lifted up*, with its consequence of forgetting God. As in those great Cautions *Deut. 8. 14. & 17. 10.* and in those remarkable Examples, even of *Hezechiah, 2 Chr. 32. 25.* that *he rendred not again to the Lord according to the Benefit done unto him: for his Heart was lifted up; therefore there was Wrath upon him, and upon Juda and Jerusalem:* And of *Uzziah, 2 Chr. 26. 16.* *When he was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction.* and Desertion or Neglect of the Special Work wherein one is employed; of which *Saul* is a remarkable Example. Lastly, that there can be no removal of these Sins without great Humiliation upon contemplation of the Ingratitude, and dangerous consequence thereof, and a Resolute Return to the deserted or neglected Duty, and therefore

2. To

2. To set resolutely to the Work of an *Effectual Reformation* of this People, whom God hath subjected to him, and committed to his Charge, to be delivered from the Slavery of their Souls to Satan by impudent Sins, as well as of their Persons and Estates to Tyrants by Usurpation ; Which may by the same Divine Favour, which will not then be wanting to his own Work, be easily effected. 1. By a plain *Declaration* of his Resolution, commanding a strict Execution of the Laws in force for that purpose. Which is one great part of the Regal Office. 2. By a steady use of his own *immediate Authority*, excluding and rejecting from his Counsels, Service and Presence, all such as obstinately refuse Obedience and Conformity to so just, reasonable and necessary Commands and Resolutions. And this must be done, not superficially, but with great Resolution and Constancy, and the greater by reason of the Failure before committed ; even to the hazard of his Kingdom (if there was occasion) for his sake, who hath raised him to the Throne, and can when he pleaseth, as soon remove him from it, and lay him and his Honour in the Dust. Such a Resolution once declared will half do the Work : But it must be steadily pursued, and impartial, without Indulgence to any : for that would be to prefer a Creature before the Creator, and would prove very pernicious. Besides, such Fools and Mad-men, as are profane, or glory in their Shame ; and such impotent Bruits, as have not the Command of themselves to abstain from scandalous Sins, are not fit to be admittend into the Service or Favour of a virtuous and generous Prince. 3. By *passing* and even *recommending* such other *good Laws*, as are necessary for supply of the Defects of those we have already. This is the way to recover God's Blessing : and this will strengthen him with the Hearts and Hands of the best and most considerable part of the Nation. And this being done, he may with Confidence, and without Delay, proceed to

2. The Proper *Human Means*; and 1. Such as are, and always will be, necessary to *strengthen his Kingdom at home* in the Hearts of the People. Which is to be done by good Government, and avoiding those known Inconveniences into which his late Predecessors of this Age so unhappily fell. But more particularly, 1. By *Justice*, (a great part of that Righteousness, by which the Throne is established,) both to the Community, and to each Individual, without Usurpation, Encroachments, or Oppression, either by himself, or his Favourites, or Officers. 2. By *Faithfulness in the Discharge of the Regal Office*, directing all his Counsels and Actions for the common Interest of the Nation, as his End, and according to the true Constitution of the State and Government, as his Rule. This is plainly his Duty, and that, for which, and with which, he is intrusted as King, as is very apparent in all the parts of the Constitution, let Sycophants and Flatterers say what they can to the contrary. And to this purpose *three great Faults of the late Reigns* are constantly to be avoided: 1. The Use of any *single Ministry* of Favourites, or *Private Advisers* in Cabals; so that nothing be done but by Advice of a Legal well-chosen *Privy Council*, and under the Hands of those who advise it. 2. As well the long *Continuance*, as long *Intermission* of *Parliaments*, which are both equally inconsistent with the Statutes in force for Annual Parliaments; and of equally pernicious Consequence. 3. The *Corruption of Members of Parliament* by Pensions, Places, and Promises; which is such a Breach of Trust on both sides, as is odious both to God and Man, and equal to what in private matter is commonly reputed the basest Knavery that can be.

3. By *Prudence and Industry* in ordering all, as to this End, and by this Rule, so for the best Advantage upon all occasions; As, 1. In the choice of fit Persons for Employments. 2. In Inspection into their Behaviour. 3. In provident Management of the Revenue and Contribution, that

that no unnecessary charge be laid upon the People. 4. In conferring of Honours, wherein great faults have been committed in the late Reigns. And in many other particulars not necessary here to be expressed.

By these means he may make both himself and these Kingdoms happy. For it is certain, unless I have been long in a great mistake, that both the true Constitution of this State and Government is as well composed, both for Prince and People, as any in the World; and the People as well disposed to be happily and easily governed by it, as any upon the face of the Earth, by any Government whatever. But it was the unhappiness of the last Race of Kings to be so imposed upon by Flatterers, that they never well understood either; or were carried away contrary to their own sense or reason, as they plainly were in many things.

2. But besides these things which are of constant use to be observed at all times, there may be some *things now specially requisite*, or advisable for the present State of Affairs: And such among others, I humbly conceive may be,

1. A fair *Dismission* for the present, till things be better settled, both from the Privy Council, and from the Management of Affairs relating to *Ireland*, of *all such Persons*, as either he himself hath known to be unhappy in their Counsels to himself; or are commonly believed by others to have been concerned in any illegal Practices, or Projects in the late Reigns; or have incurred the ill Opinion of the present Parliament: And to make choice of such other understanding Men of unspotted Integrity, though of inferiour Quality, as are least suspected of Partiality to any Faction.

2. A *Dissolution of the present Parliament*, and new Writs to be speedily sent out to summon another to sit at as short a day as may be; to confirm the Acts of this, and to put an end to all doubts concerning the Authority of it.

3. *Execution*

3. *Execution of Justice* upon the Disturbers of the present Settlement.

4. A Review of those Counsels and Proceedings which have given such disturbance in *Scotland*, and a speedy Restitution of matters there, to the true Constitution of that Kingdom.

5. A just Inspection into the *Accounts* of all the Money before given, and a good *Management* of the Remainder of that, and of this lately given, for speedy Preparation for the next Spring, to recover, if possible, the Reputation and Advantages lost the last Summer.

The Life of Man is short and incertain; of Kings more incertain, but of this King, by reason of his corporal Infirmary, most of all. He hath therefore cause to be the more provident in the Management of the Opportunities and great Talents, with which he is intrusted both by God and Man; and of which he must shortly give account, so as that he may do it with Joy, and not with Grief. Every wise man will make it his chief care to direct all his Actions to the attainment of his greatest personal Perfection, and of his Enjoyment of the most excellent Being. The same ought to be the care of those who have any Power over others, to help them as much as may be to do the like. And this is more especially the part of a Wise and Good King; and the ready way to make himself and the People under him, happy here, as well as hereafter. It will make him King of Men, of more than Men, that is, Christians; not of Brutes and Devils: and of a whole Nation, not only of a Party or Faction. And for this, no labour ought to be spared, no Difficulties or Dangers feared; otherwise King *James* will rise in Judgment and condemn Him.

FINIS.